Aretē: Excellence or Virtue

Reading 5 – Isocrates

"Virtue is a kind of health and beauty and good condition of the soul." —Plato

"Virtue is a weapon that cannot be taken away." —Antisthenes

"Happiness is an activity of the soul that accords with perfect virtue." —Aristotle

Reading 5

Isocrates

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This reading comes from the Cave's
Aretē: Excellence or Virtue—What the Ancient Greeks Thought and Said about Aretē.
As the title indicates, this reading, after a brief introduction,
presents what Isocrates thought and said about *aretē*.

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ISOCRATES (436-338 BC) WAS an orator and teacher from Athens. Thanks to shyness and a certain weakness of voice, he wrote, rather than presented, most of his speeches. He also taught composition. He had a school in Chios that specialized in rhetoric, and later a school in Athens devoted to philosophy and the education of the whole person—the development of the mind, character, and judgment, as well as the ability to speak well.

As we will see, Isocrates often mentions *aretē* in his speeches and stresses its significance. One must train in *aretē*, he admonishes, as it is truly advantageous. One may do so with maxims (as one may use exercises to train the body) and by following the example of virtuous individuals. Friends and other companions who are willing to exhort one to virtue are also important. Literature plays a key role in an education toward virtue, particularly the poetry of Homer. True delight comes from a virtuous life, whereas pain follows the opposite. It is vital for a city-state to form its citizens in virtue, and for those in a position of influence to turn a king toward the

same, as a king will in turn cultivate his subjects.[1]

All the following selections come from Isocrates' speeches.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

The first passages come from Isocrates' speech (or written treatise) To Demonicus. *Isocrates begins the speech by making the straightforward point that the thoughts and opinions of good and noble men vary from those of bad and base men. He explains that he is writing Demonicus a moral treatise because Demonicus is his friend Hipponicus' son, and it is beneficial to point out to the young how they might improve their way of life and character. He goes on to compare beauty, riches, bodily strength, and a noble birth to excellence or virtue. While the former things may or may not be advantageous, virtue is always helpful. It is "that possession which is most holy and secure."*

I intend to counsel you on the things which young men should reach out for and grasp and on what actions they should keep away from, as well as what kind of men they should associate with and how they should manage their own lives. For only those who have passed over this road in life have been able truly to reach virtue—that possession which is most holy and secure.

For beauty is spent by time or wasted away by disease. Riches are better at serving vice than the noble and good man. They make it possible to live a lazy life, summoning young men to pleasure. Bodily strength accompanied with practical wisdom is, indeed, an advantage, but without this ally it harms those who possess it more than it helps. And while it adorns the bodies of those who exercise, bodily strength gets in the way of the care of the soul.

But virtue, when it authentically increases in our thoughts and purposes, is the one possession that remains with us in old age. It is better than riches and more useful than a noble birth. It makes possible that which is for others impossible. It endures with confidence that which is fearful to most people. It holds that being sluggish is blameworthy, and that engaging in hard work is praiseworthy.[2]

Next, Isocrates presents a number of examples or models of the virtuous life—the heroes Heracles and Theseus and, most importantly, Demonicus' own father, Hipponicus. Demonicus should imitate his father. More, he should "vie with [his] father in his ways of life." But to do so, he must train with "noble maxims," as these are able to develop the soul in the way that various exercises develop the body. (Some of these maxims will be given next.)

It is easy to learn the virtuous life from the labors of Heracles and the deeds of Theseus, whose excellence of character has impressed upon their deeds so clear a stamp of glory that not even endless time can cast oblivion upon their achievements.

No—if you will but also recall your father's principles, you will have from your own house a noble illustration of what I am telling you. For he did not belittle virtue nor pass his life in laziness. On the contrary, he trained his body by means of toil and hardship, and endured dangers by means of his soul. Nor did he love wealth inordinately. Instead, although he enjoyed the good things available to him as is fitting for a mortal, he nevertheless cared for his possessions as if he had been immortal. Neither did he order his life in a base manner, but he was a lover of beauty and goodness. He was magnificent, sharing things in common with his friends. He prized more those who were devoted to him than those who were related to him by blood—for he considered that in the matter of companionship, nature is a much better guide than convention, character than kinship, and freedom of choice than necessity.

But all time would fail us if we should try to recount all his activities. On another occasion I will give them to you in detail. For now, I have produced a sample of the nature of Hipponicus, after whom you should pattern your life as after an example. You should regard his character and manner of life as your law. Strive to imitate and rival your father's virtue. I say this because it would be a shame . . . for children not to imitate those who were excellent among their ancestors.

You must consider that no athlete is so duty-bound to train against his competitors as are you to

consider how you may vie with your father in his ways of life. But it is not possible for the mind to be so disposed unless one is filled up with many noble maxims. For as it is the nature of the body to be strengthened by appropriate toils and hardships, so it is the nature of the soul to be developed by serious and excellent sayings. Consequently, I will try to set before you in brief form those practices by which I think you can make the most progress toward virtue and be honored most by all other human beings.[3]

Isocrates offers many "noble maxims" or "serious and excellent sayings" to Demonicus. Included are the following.[4]

Show devotion to the gods.

Conduct yourself toward your parents as you would have your children conduct themselves toward you.

Train your body with exercises that lead not to bodily strength but to health.

Consider that no adornment is more appropriate for you than a sense of shame, justice, and moderation. For as all men believe, the character of the young is ruled by these virtues.

Fear the gods, honor your parents, respect your friends, obey the laws.

Hunt after pleasures that enjoy a good reputation. For enjoyment with honor is the best thing—but without it, enjoyment is absolutely worthless.

Guard yourself against accusations—even if they are false.

If you love learning, then you will learn much.

Be affable in your manner and courteous in the way you speak.

Train yourself in self-imposed toils and hardships so that you may be able to endure those that are contrary to your choosing.

Practice self-control in all the things by which it is shameful for the soul to be controlled—namely, in those things related to gain, impulse, pleasure, and pain.

Faithfully guard the secret that is given to you.

Make no man your friend before looking into how he has used his former friends.

Be slow to give your friendship, but when you have given it, strive to make it long-lasting.

You will best serve your friends if you do not wait for them to ask for your assistance but willingly go at the crucial moment of need to offer them your help.

In matters of clothing, be a man who loves beauty but not one who puts all his faith in looking good.

Do not be fond of the excessive acquisition of goods but enjoy your possessions with measure.

Be satisfied with present circumstances—still, seek improvement.

Do well to good men.

Hate flatterers as you would deceivers.

Be affable in your relations with those who approach you—never haughty.

Beware of drinking parties. But if there is a time you must be present, then stand up from your seat and depart before you get drunk.

Cultivate the thoughts of an immortal by being great in soul, but of a mortal by enjoying in due measure your possessions.

Consider education and culture to be a good far superior to the lack of education and culture.

Praise is the foundation of friendship, just as blame is that of enmity.

In your deliberations, let the past be a pattern for the future, for the unknown may be discerned by reference to the known.

Be slow in deliberation but quick to carry out your resolutions.

The best thing we have in ourselves is good judgement.

Whenever you consult someone about your own affairs, first observe how he has managed his own.

When you are placed in authority, do not employ any base or unworthy person in your administration.

Neither stand by a base deed nor plead for a base man in court.

Prefer honest poverty to unjust riches; justice is better than wealth.

Give careful consideration to all that concerns your life. But above all, exercise yourself in practical wisdom. For the greatest thing in the smallest place is a good mind in a human body.[5]

When you are about to say anything, always first consider it in your mind—for with many the tongue outruns the understanding. Let there be only two occasions when you speak: one, when the subject is one that you know clearly and well, and, two, when the subject is one about which you are compelled to speak. Speech on these occasions alone is better than silence. At all other times it is better to be silent than to speak.

Consider that nothing in human life is certain or secure. That way you will neither feel too joyous when there is good luck nor too sad when luck turns bad.

Moving on from his presentation of maxims and precepts, Isocrates counsels Demonicus to surround himself with others who exhort him to virtue. Further, he should realize that true delight follows from the toil of virtue and self-control, whereas pain follows from laziness and the pursuit of excessive pleasure.

Just as the majority prefer the tastiest to the healthiest food, we find that most other men associate with friends who err along with them, sharing in their faults, those who do not admonish them. You, I think, are minded otherwise. . . .

When one sets for himself the highest standard of conduct, it is probable that in his relation to others he will approve only of those who exhort him to virtue.

Most of all, you'll be urged on to strive for noble deeds if you realize that it is from them most of all that we derive pleasure in the truest sense. For while the result of laziness and a love of being filled is that pain follows from pleasure, on the other hand, the love of toil and hardship in the pursuit of virtue, and self-control in managing one's life always yield enjoyments that are pure and more abiding. In the former case we experience pain following upon pleasure. In the latter we enjoy pleasure after pain.[6]

While the base are not always criticized for their poor behavior, the excellent and noble and those who claim virtue are. Not only that, but it is also clear the gods reward good men and punish bad men. We should learn whatever is good and noble from any source that offers it.

Bear in mind that while base men may be pardoned for acting without principle, since it is on such a foundation that from the first their lives have been built, yet excellent and noble men may not neglect virtue without subjecting themselves to criticism from many sides. This is so because all men hate less those who miss the mark and do wrong than those who have claimed to be respectable and yet are in fact no better than a common man. . . .

And if a mortal may guess at the thoughts of the gods, I think that they also have revealed very clearly in their treatment of their nearest relations how they are disposed to the base and excellent among human beings. For Zeus, who, as the myths relate and all men believe, was the father of Heracles and Tantalus, made the one immortal because of his virtue, and inflicted on the other the severest punishments because of his vice.

With these examples before you, then, you should strive for the character and conduct of one who is noble and good. And you should not only abide by what I have said, but also learn about the best things from the poets and acknowledge them from the other wise men—if they have said anything useful. For just as we see the bee settling on all the flowers and sipping the best from each, so also those who strive for education and culture should not leave anything untasted, but they should collect useful knowledge from every source. For hardly even with these pains can they overcome the failures of nature.[7]

The second set of selections come from Isocrates' speech To Nicocles. *Nicocles was the king of Salamis, an ancient Greek city-state on the island of Cyprus. We have included those selections related to virtue, along with brief summaries.*

In the first, Isocrates observes that educating a ruler in virtue will benefit the ruler and the ruled.

Those who educate individuals in private stations benefit those men alone, but if an educator can turn those who rule over the people toward virtue, he will

help both those who hold positions of authority and their subjects in that he will give to rulers a greater security in office and to the people a gentler government.[8]

The great task of the king is soul care and the pursuit of virtue.

No athlete is so called on to train his body as a king is to train his soul—for not all the public festivals in the world offer a prize comparable to those for which you who are kings struggle every day of your lives. Hold this thought in your spirit, and see to it that in proportion as you are above the others in rank so shall you excel them in virtue.[9]

Education and diligence are essential in the project of self-improvement and benefit in terms of virtue.

Do not hold the view that while diligence is useful in all other matters, it is not so in making us better and wiser. And do not judge us—humankind—so unfortunate that, although in dealing with wild beasts we have discovered arts by which we tame their souls and increase their worth, yet in our own case we are powerless to help ourselves in the pursuit of virtue. On the contrary, be convinced that education and diligence are very much able to benefit our nature.[10]

Kings benefit from the virtue of their friends, the loyalty of their citizens, and their own wisdom.

Believe that your safest bodyguard is found in the virtue of your friends, the loyalty of your citizens, and your own practical wisdom—for it is through these that one is best able to acquire and preserve absolute power.[11]

Virtue, rather than luck, is something to orient yourself to and take pride in, something for people to talk about with genuine admiration.

Do not show yourself ambitious for those things that are within the power of vicious men also to achieve but show that you are oriented to and pride yourself on virtue, in which base men have no part. Consider that the truest honor is shown to you not in public demonstrations that are inspired by fear but when people in the privacy of their homes speak with admiration of your judgment rather than of your luck.[12]

Seek memorials attesting your virtue. Risk your life if necessary.

Consider that as long as there are private individuals who are ready to lay down their lives in order to be praised after they have reached their end, it is terrible for kings not to dare to pursue a course of action from which they will be highly esteemed during their lives. As a memorial, prefer to leave behind images of your virtue rather than of your body. Make every effort to preserve your own and your state's security, but if you are compelled to risk your life, choose to die with honor rather than to live in shame.[13]

Next up are selections emphasizing virtue (with brief summaries) from the Nicocles, or the Cyprians.

In the first, Isocrates judges that virtue is the greatest good. It is best not only to be inclined to virtue by nature but also from conviction in accord with reason.

Now men who are orderly and well-behaved by nature deserve our praise and admiration, but still more do those deserve it who are so in accord with reason. For those who are moderate by chance and not by judgment may possibly be persuaded to change, but those who, besides being so inclined by nature, have formed the conviction that virtue is the greatest of goods, will, it is clear, stand firm in this position all their lives.[14]

Shoot for virtue rather than riches since virtue leads to all good things. Both making and spending one's wealth can be beneficial if done with virtue.

Do not strive to gain riches rather than a good reputation, knowing that both among the Greeks and the barbarians those who have the greatest reputation for

virtue have at their command the greatest number of good things. Consider that the making of money unjustly will produce not riches but danger. Do not suppose that getting is gain or spending is loss—for neither the one nor the other always has the same significance, but either, when done in season and with virtue, benefits the doer.[15]

One should exhort the young to virtue in both word and deed.

Urge the young on to virtue not only with advice but also by demonstrating to them with actions how good men should be.[16]

Imitate the virtuous not the vicious.

Vie not with those who have the most possessions but with those who know no vice within themselves—for with such a soul a man is able to live out his life most pleasantly. Do not suppose that vice can benefit more than virtue, and that it is only its name which is offensive. No, consider that even as are the names which things have received, so also are their properties.[17]

Selections from the Panegyricus *are next.*

Isocrates starts by wondering why the wise in mind are not celebrated in a similar manner to the strong and successful in body.

I have often wondered at those who first called together the all-Greek assemblies and established the athletic games. I have been amazed because they judged that the success of bodies deserved a great reward, while they apportioned no honor prize to those who had toiled in private for the common good and had trained their own minds and souls in order to benefit others. In truth they should have made provision for the latter. For if every athlete acquires twice the bodily strength he now possesses, the rest of the world will not be better off. But let a single man be well-off in terms of practical wisdom, and all men who are willing to share in his understanding will enjoy its benefits.[18]

It is important for rulers to turn those in their care toward virtue or battle excellence (aretē). The Greeks, led by Athens and Sparta, could not have defeated the "barbarian" Persians without a training in virtue. Indeed, maybe the gods gave the Greeks this war just to highlight their virtue. It is virtue that wins wars both on land and sea.

Now the men who are responsible for our greatest blessings and deserve our highest praise are, I believe, those who risked their bodies in defense of Hellas. Nevertheless, we cannot in justice fail to recall those who lived before this war and were the ruling power in each of the two states—for it was those who trained the coming generation and turned the majority of people toward virtue and made of them stern enemies of the barbarians. . . .

I suppose that some god out of admiration for their virtue brought about this war so that men endowed by nature with such virtue should not remain unsung or end their lives without renown but should be judged worthy of the same honors as are given to those who have sprung from the gods and are called demigods. For while the gods surrendered the bodies of these to the necessary end of nature, even so they have made immortal the memory of their virtue. . . .

Our ancestors . . . desired above all to maintain the reputation they had won, and to prove to the world that in the former battle they had conquered by means of virtue and not luck. Further, they hoped to induce the Greeks to carry on the war with their ships, by showing that in fighting on the sea—no less than on the land—virtue prevails over numbers.[19]

Education and literature, particularly Homer, and recalling the virtue of others is key to cultivating a similar virtue—here, doubtlessly battle excellence and courage.

I think that even the poetry of Homer has won a greater reputation because he has nobly praised the men who fought against the barbarians. For this reason, our ancestors resolved to give his art a place of honor in our musical contests and in the education of

our youth, so that we, hearing his verses often, may thoroughly learn about the enmity that exists between us and them, and that we, admiring the virtue of those who were in the war against Troy, may desire similar deeds.[20]

In the Archidamus, *Isocrates argues that life is preserved by virtue, particularly by justice—that "right" wins out in the end over "might."*

No man could ever persuade me that one should ever judge anything to be of greater significance than justice. I say this because I see that our laws have been made to secure it, that noble and good men are ambitious to practice it, and that well-governed states are quite busy with it. Moreover, I observe that the wars of the past have in the end been decided not according to might but according to right—and that, generally speaking, human life is destroyed by vice and preserved by virtue.[21]

Honor is all-important to the Spartans (Lacedaemonians) since they lay claim to virtue.

No one, for example, would reproach the Epidaurians or Corinthians or Phliasians if they thought of nothing else than escaping destruction and saving their own lives. The Lacedaemonians, however, cannot seek their deliverance at all costs—rather if to "safety" they cannot add "with honor," then for them death with good repute is preferable. This is so because those who lay claim to virtue must make it the supreme object of their lives never to be found doing a shameful thing.[22]

In the Areopagiticus, *the source of the next set of selections, Isocrates suggests that the virtuous conduct of one group can positively influence the wayward behavior of another group.*

The Athenians of that day were not watched over by many preceptors during their boyhood only to be allowed to do what they liked when they attained to manhood. On the contrary, they were subjected to greater supervision in their prime than when they were boys. For our forefathers emphasized moderation so much that they gave the supervision of orderly behavior to the Council of the Areopagus—a body that was composed exclusively of men who were of noble birth and had displayed in their lives great virtue and moderation, and which, therefore, surpassed all the other Greek councils.

And we may judge what this institution was like at that time even by what happens today. For even now, when everything connected with the choice and the examination of magistrates has fallen into neglect, we find that when those who are intolerable in everything else enter the Areopagus, they shrink from giving in to their true nature. Instead, they are governed by its traditions rather than their own vicious instincts. So great was the fear that the Areopagus' members inspired in base men, and such was the memorial of their own virtue and moderation that they left behind them in this place.[23]

Far more than laws, humans learn virtue (or not) from the example of those around them.

The men of the Areopagus thought that virtue is not increased by written laws but by everyday practices. For the majority of men end up resembling the behaviors around them when they were brought up and educated. Furthermore, they held that where there is a multitude of specific laws, it is a sign that the city-state is poorly managed—for it is in the attempt to build up obstacles to the spread of faults and crimes that men in such a city-state feel compelled to multiply the laws.[24]

Those from Athens should feel upset if they do not measure up to their ancestors in terms of virtue since those from Athens are particularly virtuous.

We should feel aggrieved and resentful if we end up being worse than our ancestors—for it is their virtue . . . we should strive zealously to imitate, particularly since it is fitting for Athenians to be the best among humankind.

This is not the first time that I have expressed this

sentiment—I have done so many times and before many people. For I know that while other regions produce varieties of fruits and trees and animals, each peculiar to its locality and much better than those of other lands, our own land is able to produce and nurture men who are not only the most gifted in the world in the arts and in the powers of action and of speech but are also above all others in courage and in virtue.[25]

Next come selections from On the Peace.

First, Isocrates states that virtue is the most important ingredient for happiness.

Nothing can contribute so powerfully to making money, or to reputation, or to suitable action, or, generally speaking, to happiness and prosperity, as virtue and the parts of virtue. For we also acquire the other benefits we need by means of the good qualities we have in the soul. . . .

I mentioned a moment ago the qualities that we must possess as a foundation if we are to be happy and prosperous—namely, piety, moderation, justice, and every other virtue. As for the means by which we may most speedily be formed with such a character, what I am going to say will probably seem repellent to you when you have heard it. It is also far removed from the opinions held by the rest of the world. . . .

The means? Isocrates advises the Athenians to stop pursuing an empire. An empire is actually harmful to good character, he says.

Our ancestors, proving themselves to be men of this character, handed on the city to their descendants in a most happy and prosperous condition and left behind them an immortal memorial of their virtue. And from this we may easily learn a double lesson: that our land is able to rear better men than other lands, and that what we call empire, though it is profitable, is of a nature to deprave all who have anything to do with it.[26]

It is important for a city-state to cultivate the virtues of the public, its citizens. The cultivation of virtue benefits those who love wisdom.

While you commend moderation in individual men and believe that those who practice it enjoy the most secure existence and are the best among your fellow citizens, you do not think it fit to make the public practice it. And yet it is fitting for the public much more than individuals to cultivate the virtues and to shun vices. For a man who is godless and base may die before paying the penalty for his faults, but city-states, since they are immortal, must sooner or later submit to punishment at the hands both of men and of the gods. You should bear these considerations in mind and should not pay attention to those who gratify you for the moment, while caring nothing for the future.[27]

I recommend and exhort those who are younger and more vigorous than I to speak and write the kind of discourses by which they will turn the greatest city-states—those which have oppressed the rest—into the paths of virtue and justice, since when the affairs of Hellas are well, it follows that the affairs of those who love wisdom are much better.[28]

In the Evagoras, *Isocrates admonishes Nicocles, the king of Salamis on Cyprus we encountered above, to be as virtuous as his father, Evagoras. He should strive to be a better man than those around him.*

You must not be content if you happen to be already better than those around you. But you should be vexed if—endowed as you are by nature and distantly descended from Zeus and in our own time from a man of such distinguished virtue—you do not far surpass not only all others but also those who possess the same high station as yourself.

It is up to you not to fail in this. For if you persevere in the study of philosophy and make as great a progress as you have so far, you will quickly become the man that it is fitting you should be.[29]

The next passage comes from Isocrates' Busiris. *Well into the speech, Isocrates explains that the gods are by nature virtuous as are their offspring—and this contrary to how humans often speak of them.*

Now I, for my part, think that not only the gods but also their offspring have no share in any vice. Rather, they themselves are by nature endowed with all the virtues and have become for all mankind guides and teachers of the most honorable conduct. For it is foolish that we should attribute to the gods the responsibility for the good of our children, and yet suppose them not to worry about the good of their own. No—if anyone of us had the power to regulate human nature, he would not even allow his household slaves to be base.[30]

In the final selection from the Panathenaicus, *Isocrates describes the nature of the truly virtuous man.*

What man, then, do I call cultivated and educated since I exclude the arts and skills and sciences and natural capacities?

First, I include those who manage well the circumstances they encounter each day, and who possess a judgement that is accurate in meeting occasions as they arise and rarely misses the expedient course of action.

Next, I include those who are graceful and just in their interaction with all whom they associate, calmly and readily bearing with what is unpleasant or disagreeable in others and being themselves as easygoing and measured to their associates as it is possible to be.

Furthermore, I include those who always control their pleasures, and are not unduly overcome by their misfortunes, enduring them with courage and in a manner worthy of our common nature.

Finally, and most important of all, I include those who are not spoiled by success, deserting their true selves and becoming arrogant. Rather, they hold their ground steadfastly as intelligent men, not rejoicing in the good things that have come to them by means of luck but in those that through their own nature and intelligence are theirs from their birth.

Those who have a character that is in accord not with one of these things but with all of them, these, I contend, are wise and complete men—men who possess all the virtues.[31]

So ends Reading 5. **See you in Reading 6**, which is on the way.

NOTES

[1] Note that aside from brief characterizations about what each orator thought and taught about *aretē* in the introduction to each at the beginning of the chapter, we do not offer summaries as we did with the philosophers since their presentation was far less systematic.
[2] Isocrates, *To Demonicus* 1.5-7.
[3] Ibid., 1.8-12.
[4] The maxims are found in ibid., 1.13-43. They have been offered here in the order they appear in the text. That said, we have not included all the maxims. The reader should be aware that, even though we have not employed ellipses, some text is missing.
[5] Compare the Roman satirist Juvenal's later (first or second century AD) recommendation that Romans ought to pray for "a sound mind in a sound body" (*mens sana in corpore sano*) rather than other desiderata (see *Satire* 10.356 ff.).
[6] Ibid., 1.45-46.
[7] Ibid., 1.48, 50-52.
[8] Isocrates, *To Nicocles* 2.8.
[9] Ibid., 2.11.
[10] Ibid., 2.12. "Wiser" here is related to practical wisdom.
[11] Ibid., 2.21.
[12] Ibid., 2.30.
[13] Ibid., 2.36
[14] Isocrates, *Nicocles, or the Cyprians* 3.46-47.
[15] Ibid., 3.50.
[16] Ibid., 3.57.

[17] Ibid., 3.59. The name or word for "vice" in Greek is *kakia*, a word that comes from *kakos*, a term that ranges in meaning from "bad" to "ugly" to "ignoble" and "base." As such, *kakia* is not only apparently bad, but, following from its name, it is truly or actually bad.
[18] Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 4.1-2.
[19] Ibid., 4.75, 84, 91.
[20] Ibid., 4.159.
[21] Isocrates, *Archidamus* 6.35-36.
[22] Ibid., 6.91.
[23] Isocrates, *Areopagiticus* 7.37-38.
[24] Ibid., 7.40. "Behaviors" (*ēthos*) could have also been given as manners, customs, habits, character.
[25] Ibid., 7.73-74.
[26] Isocrates, *On the Peace* 8.32, 63, 94.
[27] Ibid., 8.119-120.
[28] Ibid., 8.145.
[29] Isocrates, *Evagoras* 9.81.
[30] Isocrates, *Busiris* 11.41-42.
[31] Isocrates, *Panathenaicus* 12.30-32.